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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AMCONGEN MUNICH

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TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

REF : OURDES No. 191, October 29, 1952

DECEMBER 25, 1952

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FOR

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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SUBJECT: PERIPHERAL: Revised Translation of the Statute of the Coordinating Center of Anti-Bolshevik Struggle

At the time of the announcement of the formation of the Coordinating Center of Anti-Bolshevik Struggle a hastily prepared English-language translation of the political and organizational statute of the Coordinating Center was released. This translation was submitted as an enclosure to the American Consulate General's despatch No. 191 of October 29, 1952. A close check has shown, however, that the released translation does not always conform to the literal reading of the Russian-language text nor does it, in places, convey the intended meaning of the signatories. Because of the many delicately worded phrases of the statute and of the importance of the document as an instrument in psychological warfare, it was thought that a new English-language translation should be prepared. The revised translation is enclosed.

*Paul N. Brown*  
Charles W. Thayer  
American Consul General

Enclosure:

English-language translation of above-named Statute.

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*W. W. Andrick Jr.*

REPORTER

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STATUTEof the Coordinating Center of Anti-Bolshevik StruggleI. General Principles

The Coordinating Center is created for the organization of an active struggle directed toward the liquidation of the anti-peoples' communist dictatorship, that is, for a struggle which will open the way to the liberation of the peoples inhabiting the territory of the present U.S.S.R., and toward the establishment on this territory of a democratic regime, responding to the aspirations of these peoples.

The Coordinating Center is an organ of coordination of activities in the struggle against the communist dictatorship. It is constructed on a broad political base: the democratic emigrations of all the peoples inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union must be as much as possible represented in this Center.

Groups seeking the restoration of the pre-revolutionary regime and the establishment of any form of totalitarian dictatorship, as well as those conducting propaganda of national hatred or denying the principle of the expression of the will (voleiz'yavleniya) of the people in deciding the nationality question shall not be permitted to participate in the Coordinating Center.

II. Political Platform

Proceeding from the principles of the rights of man and of a citizen, proclaimed by the United Nations Organization, the Coordinating Center bases its activity on the following political platform:

1. Irreconcilable struggle against the communist dictatorship until its complete destruction.
2. Putting into effect the principle of consistent government of the people--in Russia first proclaimed by the February Revolution--as the chief condition precluding attempts at the restoration of absolutism or the establishment of a dictatorship in any form.
3. Recognition of the unconditional right of all peoples, inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union, freely, on the basis of democratic expression of will (voleiz'yavleniya), to determine their own fate, as well as the real guarantees of this right of self-determination.

Note 1. Each organization may consider democratic expression of will (voleiz'yavleniya) as expression of will realized either by means of a plebiscite or

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by decisions of National Constituent Assemblies, or through an all-Russian Constituent Assembly.

Note 2. Recognizing that under the conditions of a struggle against the Soviet power which has not been terminated, a free democratic expression of will (volein'yavleniya) is impossible, it is considered that such can be realized only after the liquidation of the Soviet power.

Note 3. The Coordinating Center is an organ of struggle for the freedom of the peoples, inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union, and is not a general unification of the emigration. The Russian (rossiiskie) organizations which are members of that Center do not look upon themselves as embryos of a future Russian (rossiiski) government. In a like way the nationality organizations do not look upon themselves as representatives of national state formations.

In accordance with this, the entry into the Center of any new organizations is conditioned upon their recognition of the above-indicated principles.

4. Guarantee of full political and civil rights to all citizens, without distinction as to sex, nationality or religious belief.

5. Guarantee of freedom of conscience and of the right of religious propaganda.

6. Liquidation of the exploitation of man by man, by party or by the state and subordination of state policy to the interests of the free development of the human personality and raising of the material and cultural level of the life of the peoples.

7. Destruction of the system of terror and repression. Abolition of concentration camps and of all forms of slave compulsory labor. Liberation of political prisoners. Return to the motherland of repressed persons and victims of mass deportations.

8. Inadmissibility of a policy of vengeance after the overthrow of the dictatorship.

9. Abolition of collective farms and of the system of compulsory deliveries. Transfer of the land to the ownership of the peasants. Guarantee to them of the right to freely choose the forms of land ownership and land utilisation.

10. Liberation of creative activity and the cultural life of the country from all forms of state coercion.

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II. Liquidation of the aggressive foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and resolute refusal to recognize the acts of this aggression.

### III. Organizational Bases

#### A. Council of the Coordinating Center

1. The principle of parity of Russian (rossiiski) and nationality component parts (50% and 50%) is the basis of the organizational structure of the Center.
2. The Council of the Coordinating Center is composed of 60 persons, of whom
  - 20 persons (1/3) are representatives of Russian (rossiiski) political organizations,
  - 20 persons (1/3) are representatives of nationality organizations, and
  - 20 persons (1/3) are personally invited representatives of the community, science and culture who share the political platform of the Coordinating Center.
3. Confirmation of the personally invited members of the Council takes place at general meetings of the Council, at which time the proposed candidates are subjected to joint consideration. Those who receive a qualified majority of votes (2/3) are considered accepted.
4. New organizations which wish to join the Coordinating Center submit their declarations to the Central Bureau. The Central Bureau will transmit these declarations to the appropriate nationality organizations for their conclusions and together with the conclusions make a report to a regular plenum of the Council.

When the conclusions are positive the new organizations are considered accepted if they receive at the plenum of the Council a simple majority of votes. When the conclusions of the appropriate nationality organizations are negative, or when there is a motivated objection from any other organization or from the Central Bureau, the new organization is considered accepted if it receives at the plenum of the Council a qualified majority of votes (2/3).

#### B. The Central Bureau

5. The permanent executive organ of the Coordinating Center is the Central Bureau, elected by the Council and responsible to the Council.

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**UNCLASSIFIED****6. The tasks of the Central Bureau are:**

- a) Extension of every kind of assistance to the common struggle of all peoples inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union against the communist dictatorship which is oppressing them.
- b) Development of the program and tactics of the liberation struggle against the dictatorship.
- c) Organization and conduct of revolutionary-propaganda work directed at the overthrow of the dictatorship.
- d) Unification of the active democratic forces of the Russian and non-Russian multi-national political emigrations and their inclusion in the struggle against the dictatorship.
- e) Co-operation with the democratic forces of the world which support the extension of aid to the liberation struggle against the communist dictatorship. Propaganda in the outside world with the aim of organizing assistance to the revolutionary forces within the Soviet Union.

**7. The composition, structure and procedures of the Central Bureau are determined by the Council of the Coordinating Center.**

League for the Struggle for Peoples' Freedom  
Russian Peoples Movement  
Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia  
Union of Struggle for the Freedom of Russia  
Georgian National Council  
Azerbaijhanian Committee of National Unity  
Union of Armenian Fighters for Freedom  
North Caucasian National Union "SKANO"  
Turkestan National Liberation Committee--"Turkeli"

Munich, 16 October 1952, 22 hours and 46 minutes

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REMARKS:

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